175 Moraes Jardim (24), who explored the Araguaia in 1879, writes as follows about the Tapirapé River: "The steamship Araguaya, under the [99:68] command of the late Lieutenant Balduino, ascended this river about ten leagues from its mouth to a harbor of the Tapirapé Indians without encountering any difficulties. When he reached this point, the captain sent a few scouts to the village, which stood some distance from the river. The Indians, however, sensed their approach and ran away, and the captain achieved nothing more than a reconnaissance of this section of the river."

João Severiano de Fonseca (I, 90) refers to this ascent of the Tapirapé River as follows: "The worthy Commander Balduino de Aguiar, so well known for his heroic deeds in the battles of the Coimbra Fortress and in others on the Paraguay River and at São Lourenço, ascended this river in 1868 for about 50 kilometers in a small steamer, the Araguaya, which Mr. Couto de Magalhães had brought in from Cuiabá to explore the river, whose name it adopted."

● [131] At that time, therefore, the Tapirapé lived closer to the Araguaia than today.

Moraes Jardim also writes (34): "The Tapirapés have built their villages on the banks of the river of the same name. It is said that they are gentle Indians, more industrious than the others, but we have not had any contact with them so far."

[174] There must have been indirect contact between the Tapirapé and the Whites at that time, however, probably through the Karajá, for aside from the above-mentioned notice concerning their gentleness and industriousness, we read the following concerning quartz lip ornaments in an article about the Karajá written by Aristides de Souza Spinola and included in the pamphlet by Moraes Jardim (40): "In the course of my journey I saw only one common Indian [ornament] of this sort. I possess two in my small Indian chest received from the Tapirapés, who inhabit the banks of the river of the same name, a tributary of the Araguaia."

Ehrenreich, who went down the Araguaia in 1888, says in 1891 (2, 88): "The Araguaia River region is inhabited by the Tapirapé, who in truth have not yet been visited by any traveler, but who already had contact with the colonists in the past century." Like Martius, he includes these Indians with the "Central Tupí"

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

TAPIRAPÉ SOCIAL AND CULTURE CHANGE 1940-1953

by

CHARLES WAGLEY

The Tapirapé are a Tupi-speaking tribe whose aboriginal habitat lay between the Araguaya and Xingu rivers in central Brazil. Tapirapé society and culture, as it existed before 1940, has been described by Herbert Baldus and the present author in a series of articles and monographs.[1] In 1940, when I left the Tapirapé village after approximately eighteen months of residence and research, I was convinced that Tapirapé society was rapidly disintegrating and that it would soon cease to exist as a distinct organized unit. At that time, although Tapirapé culture was essentially unchanged from its aboriginal condition, severe depopulation had so disrupted the social structure that the society seemed no longer to satisfy the minimal conditions for group survival.[2] A mere 147 individuals grouped in but one village were all that remained in 1940 of this tribe that once had numbered at least one thousand people living in five large villages. In 1953, when I returned for a short visit of three weeks with the Tapirapé Indians in their new village at the mouth of the Tapirapé River on the Araguaya, I found but 51 individuals. The rapid process of depopulation

1. Cf. Herbert Baldus, *Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira*, São Paulo, 1937, and "Os Tapirapé, tribo Tupi no Brasil Central," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal*, Vols. XCVI-CV, CVII-CXXVII, São Paulo, 1944-49; and Charles Wagley, "Tapirapé Shamanism," *Boletim do Museu Nacional, Antropologia*, N.º 3, Rio, 1943.

2. Charles Wagley, "The Effects of Depopulation upon Social Organization as Illustrated by the Tapirapé Indians," *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences*, Series II, Vol. 3, N.º 1, pp. 12-16, New York, 1940.

[p. 99]

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

they might beg from the Brazilian. Another group of families came to live at the Indian post near the mouth of the Tapirapé River, where the Indian officer helped them build temporary shelters and provided them with food. And earlier, before the Kayapo attack, a small group of families had broken from the main village to migrate to a distant village site called Čičutawa, far to the north.[4] During these years, ceremonial and religious life, normal family life, aboriginal economic activities, and in fact most of the regular activities of their society were either completely suspended or affected by a marginal existence to the Brazilian frontiersmen.

But in 1950 Tapirapé society was, in a sense, re-organized. As a result of the efforts of the Indian officer, all of the remaining Tapirapé (except those who had migrated to the north) came together to form a village which they called *Tawidho* (New Village), some six kilometers from the Post Heloísa Alberto Torres. By 1953 this village had been fully completed, and the Tapirapé had relatively large and productive gardens in the forest some three or four kilometers from it. The village had been constructed, as in aboriginal times, in a circle surrounding a large men's ceremonial house. The houses were in general of the aboriginal type, each housing several biological families. Ceremonials had begun again and, as before, the nights were filled with singing. Although considerably modified, normal Tapirapé social life was again possible. Although for a short period Tapirapé *society* might be said not to have existed, Tapirapé *culture* continued to live in the minds of these few remaining individuals and it allowed them, given the opportunity, to recreate, although in a much attenuated form, their social life. This is a striking example of the difference between a society and its culture.

But both Tapirapé society and Tapirapé culture had been considerably modified by the events of the last decade. There were striking differences in social

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 137-138. This group has never been heard of since they left. It is the opinion of the remaining Tapirapé that they were killed by the Kayapo since Čičutawa is near Kayapo territory.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

INTRODUCTION

The Tapirapé Indians are a Tupi-speaking tribe living in Central Brazil west of the Araguaya River. Their villages formerly extended some two hundred miles to the north of the Tapirapé River, an affluent of the Araguaya; but today their one remaining village lies west of the Araguaya, about forty miles north of the Tapirapé and 160 miles from the point of union of the two rivers. This settlement contains a total population that does not exceed 150 people, the residue of five villages that probably existed so late as the turn of the century and that are said to have had a population of about two hundred people each. A progressive population decline has followed the acquiring of diseases from contact with the neighboring Carajá Indians of the Araguaya River and from European visitors. Such contacts, however, have left their aboriginal culture little changed.

The Tapirapé are properly a forest people, maintaining an agricultural life on clearings hewed from the great tropical forest. Their cultivated fields are large producing manioc (both *Manihot manihot* and the sweet species *Manihot palmata aypi*), maize, pumpkins, beans, peppers, yams, kará (*Dioscorea sp.*), cotton, and bananas.

The dry months of June through September of each year are devoted to clearing the garden sites. This work is done by men, frequently working individually, sometimes in communal labor formed by the men's moiety groups (1). When the clearing is done collectively, the large field is divided into individual plots which become individual property;

(1) There is an excellent description of this communal activity, called *apatirun* by the Tapirapé in Herbert Baldus. 1937. "Os grupos de comer e os grupos de trabalho dos Tapirapé", *in Ensaios de Etnologia Brasileira*, pp. 98-111. São Paulo.

[p.61]
[p.60 blank]

/403 cont./
T 175 are Karajá who are so named because they live on the lower course
114 of the Tapirapé. On page 174 he mentions a village of the /404/
Tapirapé on the Fecho de Tapirapé and a village of the Karajá
five days upward in the Tapirapé River; the one village consists
of one house with ten occupants, the other, one house with 20 (p.
186). Here, therefore, the Tapirapé are regarded as a horde of
the Karajá who live at the mouth of the river itself, and in the
river, five days above the mouth, there is another village of
Karajá! Coudreau was here the end of April; he encountered
only a few places of the Karajá. His other reports are likewise
very confused and uncertain, so that one may trace these, too,
back to misunderstood information given by the Karajá.

C 115 2. Information obtained /Erkundetes/. The information that
I obtained from the Karajá was the following:

T 13 The Tapirapé (in Karajá: ũõhũ) live six to nine days' journey
[101] in a boat above the emptying of the river into the Araguaya. From
the landing place one is obliged to walk another half day, accord-
T ing to others two days, over the campo in order to reach their vil-
105 lages. They occupy three villages, and, to be sure, one large one
and two smaller ones (according to one isolated statement, four
villages). The men wear penis cuffs plaited out of palm leaves.
Both sexes wear the hair hanging down to the small of the back.
The men wear long lip-plugs of (reddish?) stone. Ear plugs are also
customary. Their ornaments are similar to those of the Karajá.
Tattooing occurs among the married women: they cut vertical
lines into their chins and one line on either side of the corners of
their mouths, obliquely downward; these lines are colored black.
They obtain their food primarily by cultivating manioc; since they
C are very industrious, they cultivate large quantities. They are
[879] therefore considered rich by the Karajá. Of animals they keep dogs
and, above all, araras, which the Karajá buy from them. Their
weapons are bows and arrows, clubs, spears, and spear throwers.
C They know how to work with cotton. They wind the spun threads
T into big balls, like those of the Karajá. The Karajá like to buy
[439] their large, firmly plaited, cotton net coverings with a wide, black
center stripe.

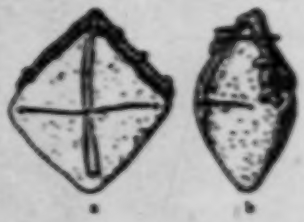
/406 cont./

114 course, I cannot state with certainty that all these objects Of actually come from the Tapirapé. In particular this cannot be done in the case of the spindle; yet they all have something about them that is more or less foreign to the Karajá.

192 Of words, I obtained the following through the Karaja in their perhaps corrupt pronunciation: penis cuff, hõõlã; urucú, kãã; tobacco, bãdumã.

114 4. Observations in Tapirapé territory. In traveling on
● [131] the Rio Tapirapé I came upon traces of a people who I assume were Tapirapé, for I met them in approximately the region in which, according to the accounts of the Karajá, the Tapirapé were supposed to live; I then crossed the boundary

532



Ill. 266a, b.
Doll of white earth.

114 between the Karajá territory and the Tapirapé territory, as my Karajá companions declared; finally, the number of villages encountered (three) corresponds to that given by the Karajá.

[324] The traces that I came across were the following: on
[350] the twelfth day of the river journey footprints on a sandbank; on the thirteenth day a lake blocked off by a fish fence, next to it in the forest a place for roasting food, from which a path led northward over the campo; on the fourteenth day a second roasting place with a campo path; from noon of this day all traces ceased. From the twelfth to the fourteenth day, on the other hand, places of fires, as well as the remains of old lake barricades, were to be seen everywhere.
[See pp. 339-337 -- Analysis]

/406 cont./

114 On the campo path from the first roasting place, which was later
[119] joined by the second coming from the left, we reached a large
[361] village on the second day of the land march, two smaller villages
[312] on the third day, all three abandoned and in utter ruins. Water was not to be found on the campo on which the villages were located; the swamps and brooks to which paths led were dried out and, when excavated, in part to a depth of one meter, did not even yield moist earth, to say nothing of water.

●131 On the basis of the discoveries and observations that I
133 made at these places, I formed the following opinion. The tribe lives on the high campo that extends from the southern bend of the Tapirapé to the north as far as the high mountains (or plateau borders) that enclose it in the north and west. In front of these borders there extends a tremendous trough, apparently the source region of the Tapirapé, which from there flows around out of the high campo in the west and south, then turns off to the north-
[361] east. /407/ Here, approximately 130 kilometers due west from
[42] the Tapirapé mouth, the tribe lives in one large and two smaller
361 villages during the rainy season. The large village seemed to have had three to four houses; the second, smaller one, two to
[342] three; the third perhaps the same number. The houses were in such a state of ruin that their construction was no longer recognizable; apparently they were large rectangular buildings with a pointed gable roof. The villages lie close to the large forest
[133] area that accompanies the trough in front of the mountains. All around in smaller troughs extend large swamps to which brooks
221 lead. During the dry season these water areas dry up completely, so that even holes up to a meter deep in the brook bed do not yield moist earth. As a result, the Indians are compelled to migrate to water areas, and apparently they then first seek the
[137] upper Tapirapé. In former times they seem to have come farther downstream to a certain place where they met the Karajá, who extended their fishing expeditions this far, and traded with them. This trading place lies about 30 kilometers southeast of the first village (34 kilometers from the second and third). As
[202] a result of the conflicts with the Karajá, they now avoid this

5: Krause

SP9 Cazaja SP9
Tapirape SP22

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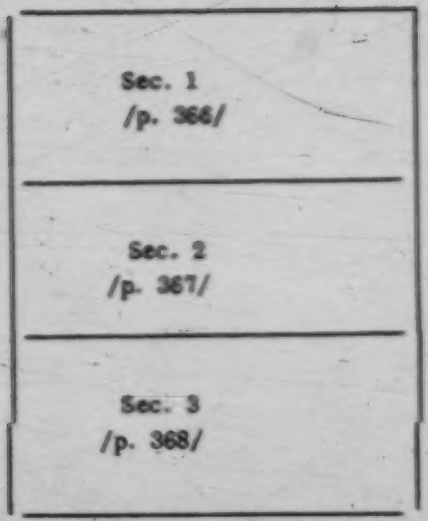

Chart of Positions of End Map A.
[Facing p. 365]

5:Krause--366 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Tapirape SP22 ●

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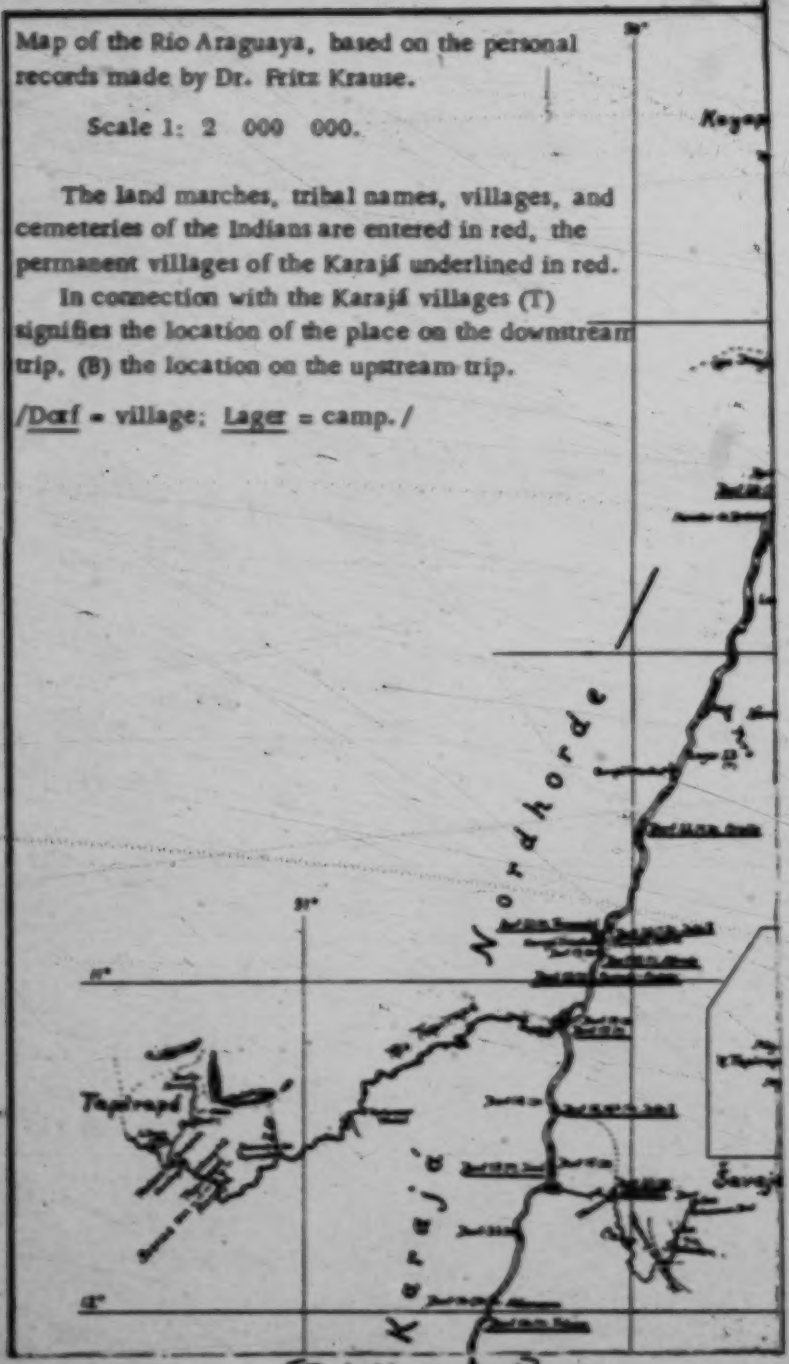
Map of the Rio Araguaya, based on the personal records made by Dr. Fritz Krause.

Scale 1: 2 000 000.

The land marches, tribal names, villages, and cemeteries of the Indians are entered in red, the permanent villages of the Karajá underlined in red.

In connection with the Karajá villages (T) signifies the location of the place on the downstream trip. (B) the location on the upstream trip.

/Dorf = village; Lager = camp./



[End Map A-1]

5: Krause--367 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Tapirape SP22

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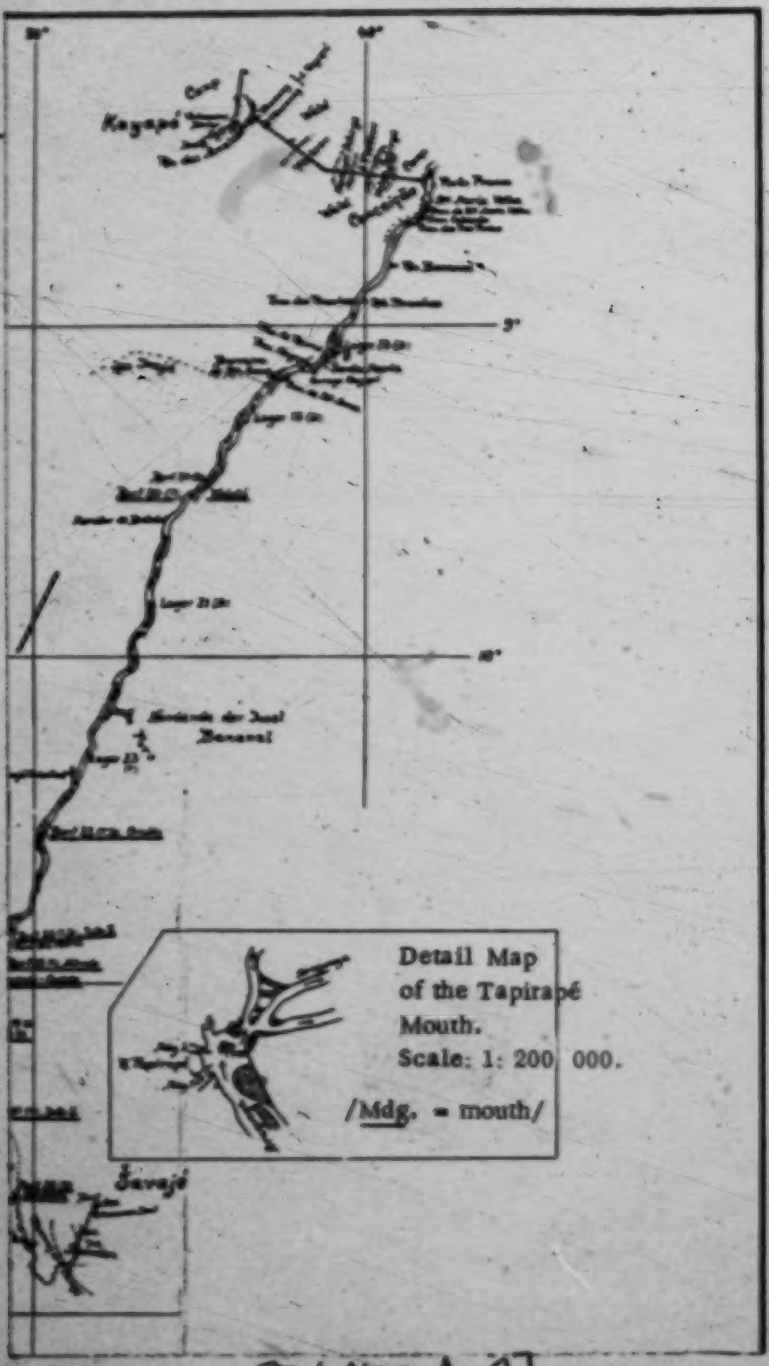

[End Map A-2]

5: Krause--368 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9 Tapirape SP82

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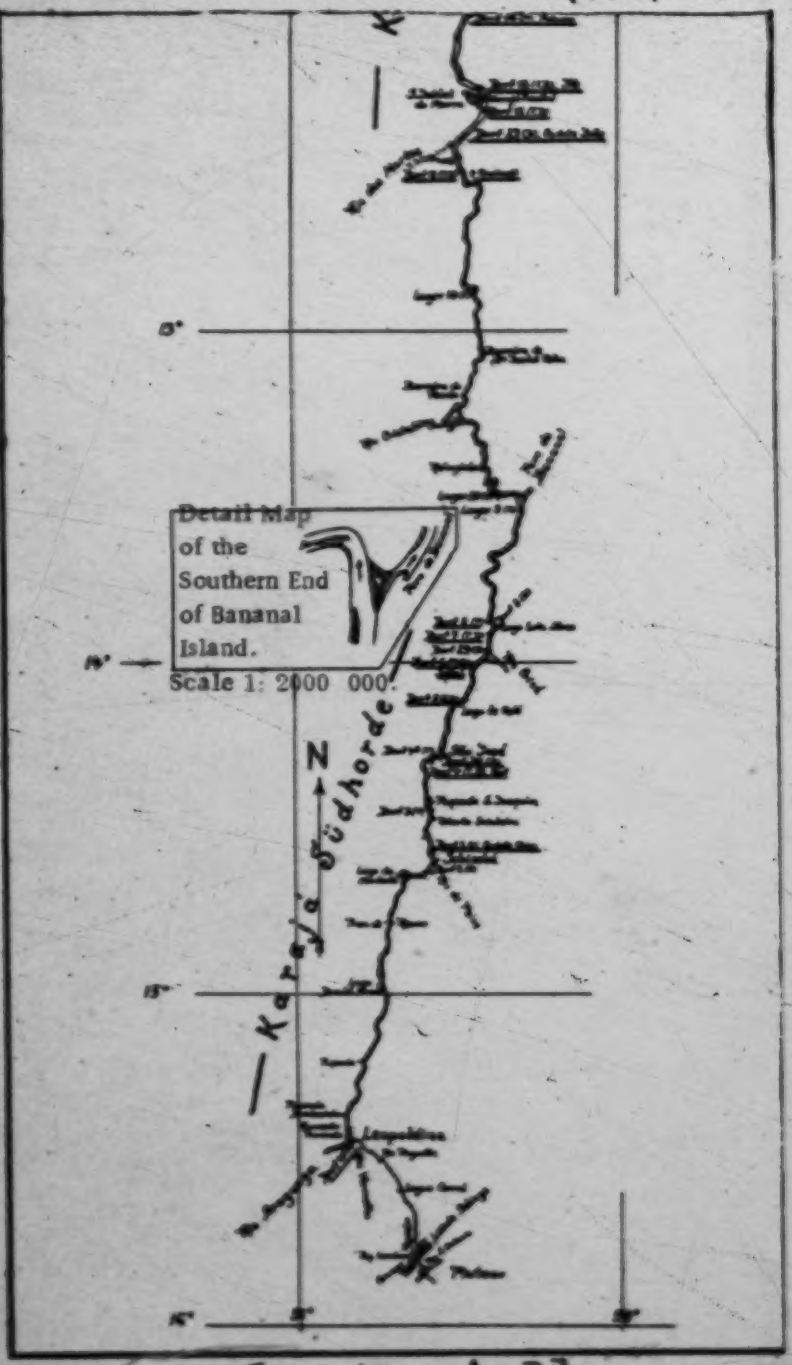

[End Map A-3]

5: Krause

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SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

Sec. 1 /p. 369/	Sec. 2 /p. 370/	Sec. 3 /p. 371/
Sec. 4 /p. 372/	Sec. 5 /p. 373/	Sec. 6 /p. 374/

Chart of Positions of End Map B.
/Facing p. 388/

5: Krause--369 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP22

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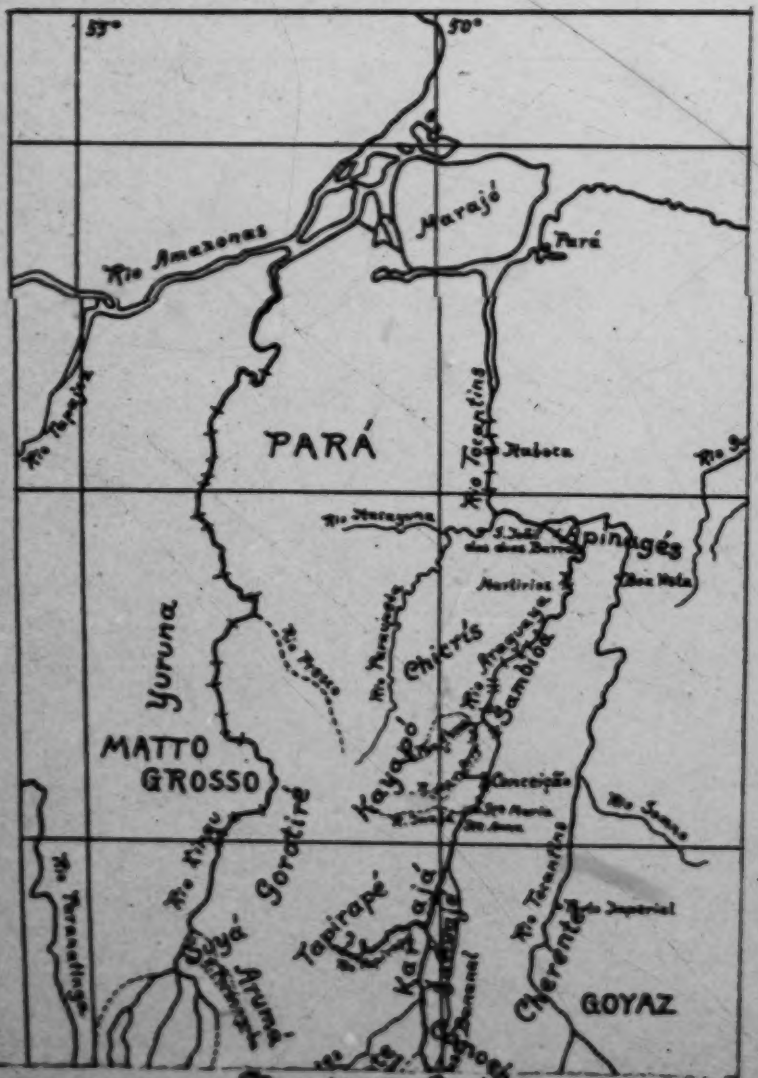
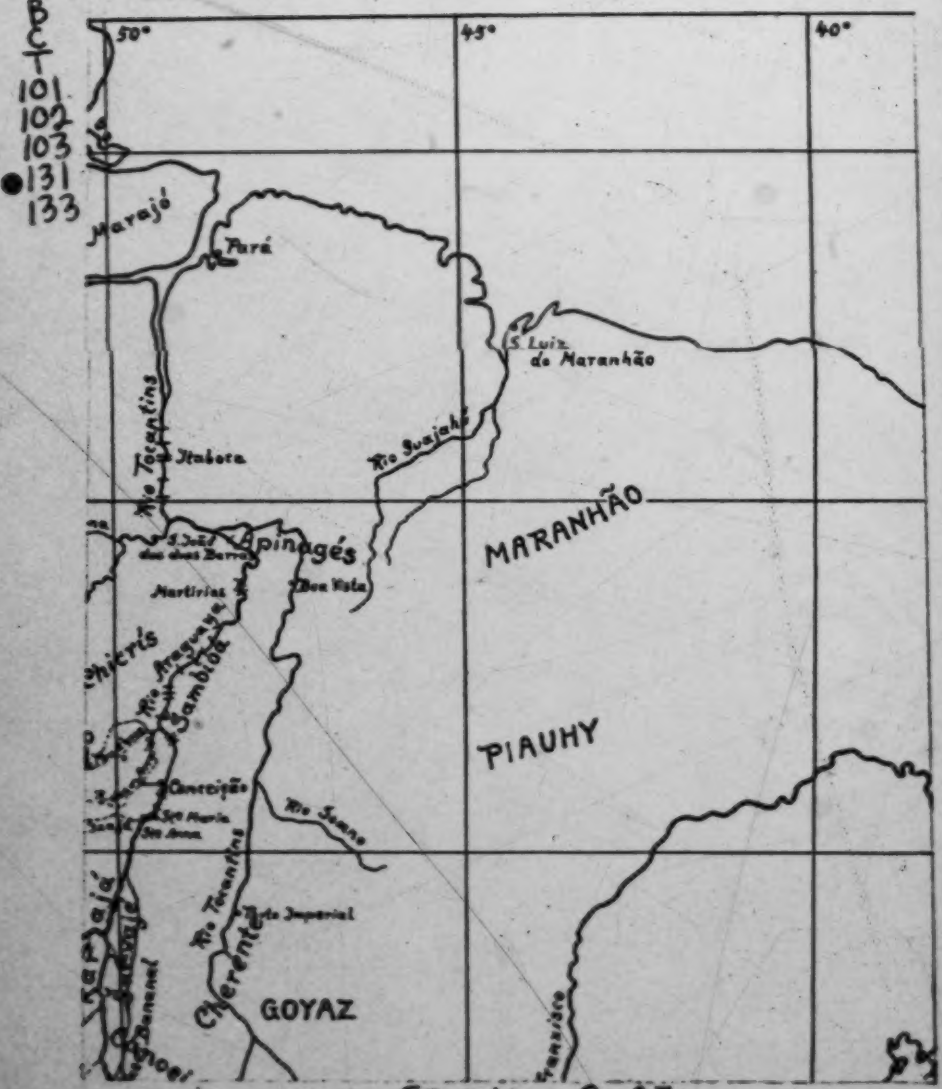
Survey Map

Scale 1: 20'000 000.



[End Map B-1]

5: Krause--370 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirape SP 22



[End Map B-8]

5: Krause--371 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tupiraps SP22

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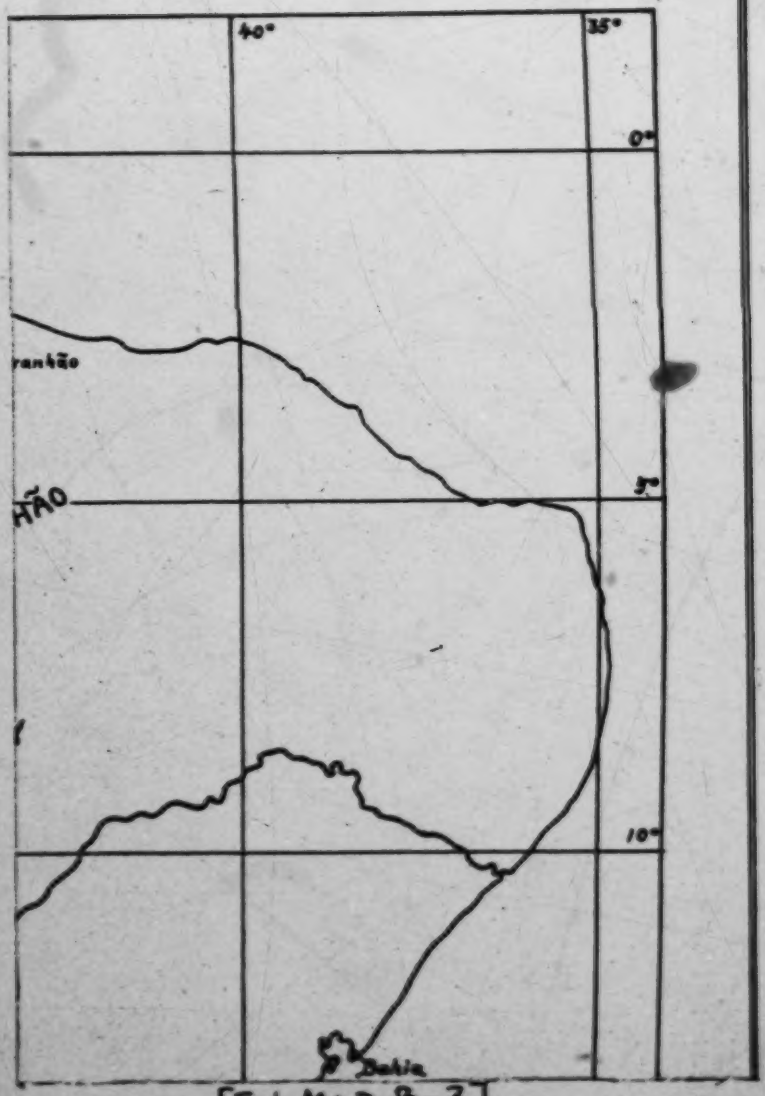

[End Map B-3]

5: Krause--372 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9

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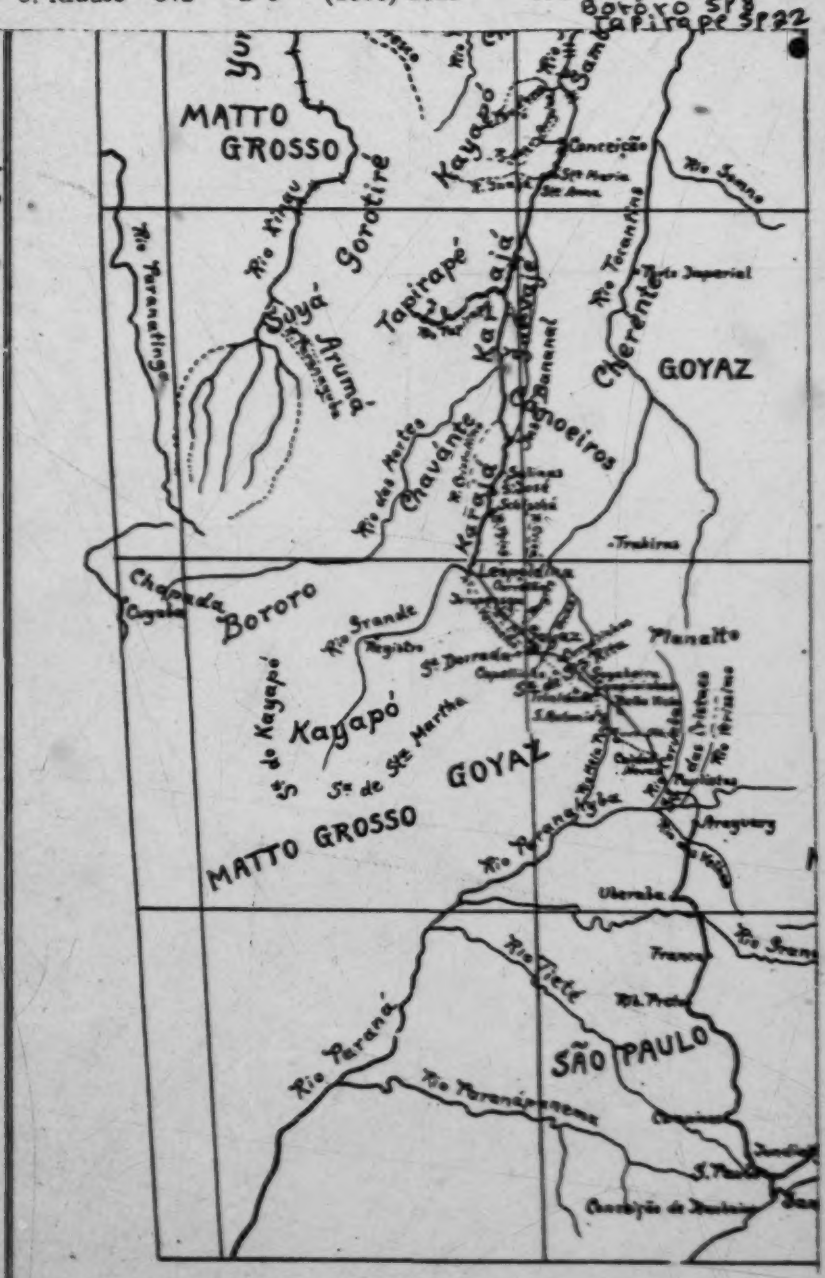

The travel route and the tribal names are entered in red.

[End Map B-4]

5: Krause--373 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9
Bororo SP8
Tapirapé SP22

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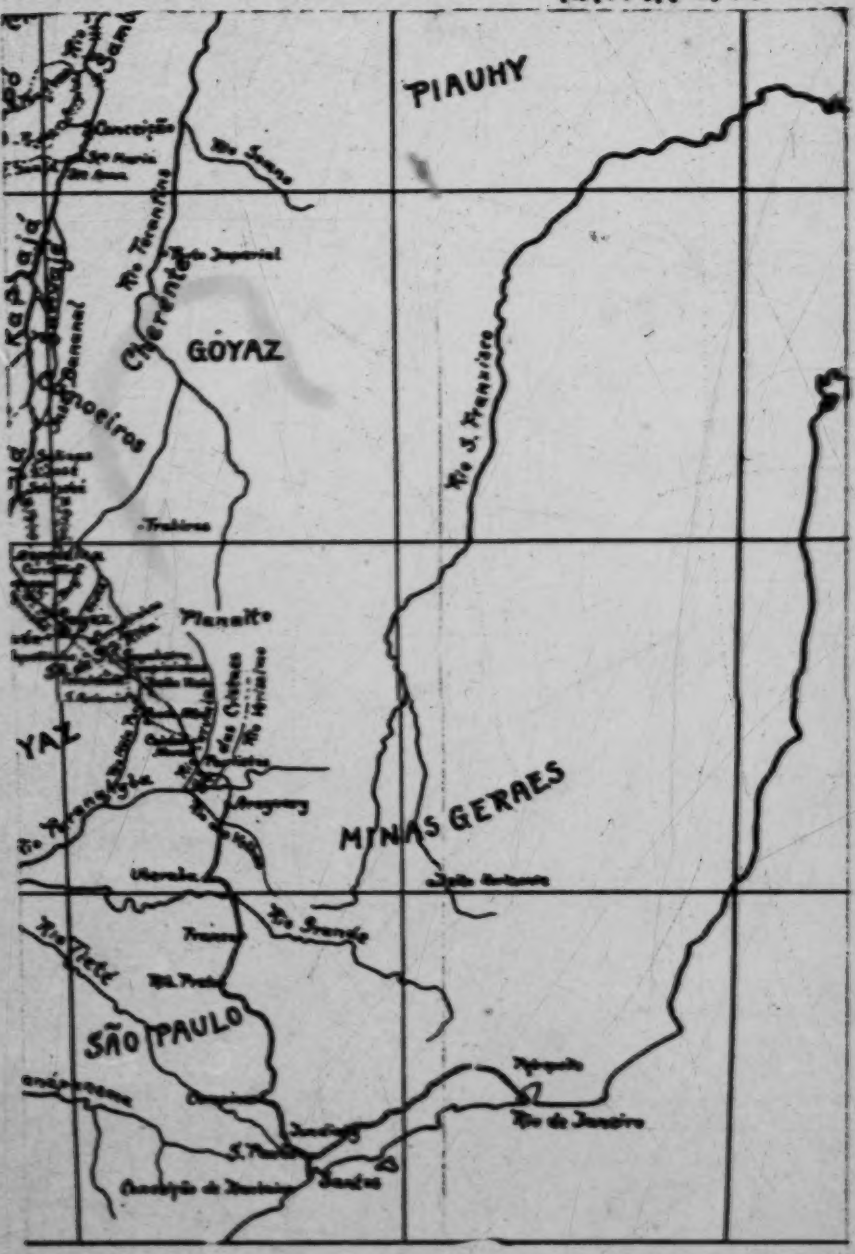
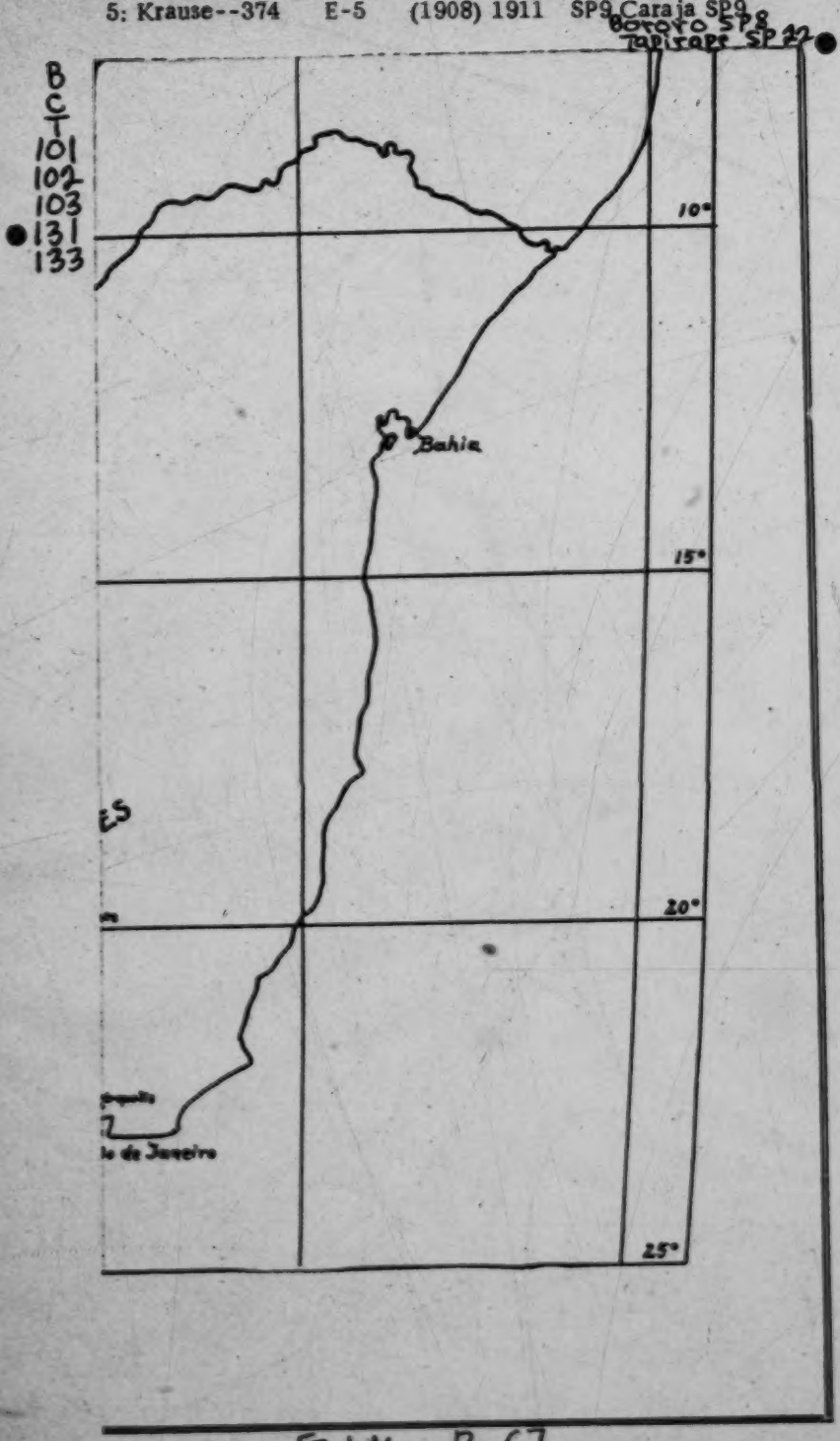


[End Map B-5]

5: Krause--374 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja SP9



[End Map B-6]

offer them a refuge in case of northern Kaiapó advances or attacks. It might also preclude the entry of adventurers into the lands to the south and west, which are assumed to be inhabited by the Akuê-Chavante and by the Tupi tribe of the Ampaneá (in this respect, cf. my works, "Uma ponte etnográfica entre o Xingu e o Araguaia, [An ethnographic bridge between the Xingu and the Araguaia]," Revista do Arquivo Municipal, Vol. 43, São Paulo, 1938, and "Os Tapirapé, tribo tupi no Brasil Central [The Tapirapé, a Tupi tribe of Central Brazil]," ibid., Vol. 100, São Paulo, 1945).

[144] Since the Tapirapé are traditionally forest Indians, we must consider the possibility of establishing the new post in the vicinity of the recently burned village, that is, at the edge of the great forest. I regard this possibility as extremely slight owing to the difficulties of communication during the yearly floods that cover the savanna and the forest ground.

Another possible way of protecting the Tapirapé would be to gather them into a post to be established on Bananal Island. The advantage here would be their localization in a federal territory intended exclusively as a reservation for the local Indians and more easily accessible than the upper Tapirapé River. On the other hand, this very accessibility might make it difficult to preserve the tribe as an ethnic entity. In addition, the following factors must be considered: although some Tapirapé groups, according to certain sources, lived for a while on Bananal Island more than 100 years ago, everything indicates that the bulk of the tribe has lived in its present habitat since the eighteenth century (cf. my study of this question in the Revista do Arquivo Municipal, Vol. 98, São Paulo, 1944), and the Tapirapé, therefore, are physically and culturally adapted to this environment and capable of preserving their culture within it. It should be added that in this case, also, the contact between the inhabitants of Tampiitáua and Txitxutáua would be retained, and with it the possibility of marrying outside the village or moving from one village to the other as a result of disappointments, political factors, etc. (1).

1. In a report on his visit to the Tapirapé that took place in September, 1948, Mr. Harald Schultz tells me that "none of the Tapirapé like the idea of being transferred to a spot near

9: Wagley E-5 (1939) 1940 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

WORLD VIEW OF THE TAPIRAPE INDIANS

By Charles Wagley

The Tapirape live in Central Brazil north of the Tapirape River, a western affluent of the Araguaya River. They are a Tupi-speaking people isolated from other peoples speaking the same language. Culturally they are related more closely to the Tupi-speaking people of the coast than to those of the head waters of the Xingu River. The only peoples with whom they have had contacts within historic times are their northern neighbors, the Gês-speaking Northern Kayapo and the Carajá (including the Javahe branch) of the Araguaya. Because of hostility with both these neighboring peoples, the Tapirape have withdrawn farther from the Araguaya and have contacts at present with the Carajá only through occasional European visitors. Introduced disease, acquired from these visitors and earlier from the Carajá, have reduced the Tapirape from five large villages (originally more than two hundred per village) to one with less than 150 people. Contacts with Europeans, however, have been short and few, leaving the Tapirape aboriginal culture little changed.

According to Tapirape tradition, they came to their present home from the north and east.[1] One group of them lived on the Araguaya and for a time shared a common village with the Javahe branch of the Carajá. The Tapirape are traditionally interested in country to the east, not to the west. It is to the east that Maratawa, the "home of the gods," lies, and in this direction, too, is the home of two legendary peoples: the Wanchira, a cannibalistic tribe which ate a famous mythical ancestor of the Tapirape, and the "other Tapirape," speaking the same language and sharing the same culture. East of the Araguaya River there is said to be another large river and great mountains where various supernaturals live.

Formerly, Tapirape who were captives of the Carajá returned to tell of that country and people, and in modern times Tapirape have visited both Carajá and Kayapo, as well as various Brazilian settlements on the Araguaya. No foreign or hostile tribes prevent them from wandering westward into the open country toward the Xingu River, but it is a region of little interest to them, and they never travel far in this direction. Of the Xingu River and people, they know only what Brazilian visitors have told

[1] According to Métraux, the Tapirape were known to have been on the Araguaya as early as the 18th century. He believes the Tapirape to be fugitives from the coast of Brazil, probably from the vicinity of Rio, possibly from the Tamoyo. Certainly they came from the east, but my material points to a migration from the northeast rather than from the southeast, as would be the case if migration had been from the forests of Rio. Métraux, Alfred, Migrations Historiques des Tupi-Guarani, *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris, N.S.* 19, 24 (1927).

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 506

Ta Te 121

contact and to revive, or which led to quasi — or total extinction of a people may also be found in the culture and the society of peoples concerned. Each culture has a population policy — — — an implicit or explicit set of cultural values relating to population size. The social structure of each society is closely inter-related with a specific population level. A modification of the external environment, such as that brought about by contact with Europeans, generally calls for change both in cultural values as well as in social structure. In addition to environment, technology, and other material factors, cultural values and social structure act also to determine population size and demographic trends in face of modified external circumstances. A rapid decrease in population due to new disease or an increase in population resulting from an increased food supply calls for adjustments in population policy (implicit or explicit) and in social structure. It is the purpose of the present paper to examine the relationship between these social and cultural factors and the population trends following European contact of two Tupi speaking tribes of Brazil.

Ta Te [131] 161 648

The two Tupi speaking tribes in question are the Tenetehara of northeastern Brazil and the Tapirapé of central Brazil. (2) After more than 300 years of contact with Luso-Brazilians the Tenetehara in 1945 still numbered some 2000 people —— not much less, if at all, than the aboriginal population. On the other hand, by 1947 the Tapirapé with less than forty years of sporadic and peaceful contact with Luso-Brazilians had been reduced to less than one hundred people, the remnant of an aboriginal population which must have numbered more than one thousand. While the Tenetehara still maintained a functioning social system and continued as a distinct ethnic group, Tapirapé society was in 1947 almost totally disorganized and the Tapirapé as a distinct people were clearly on the road to extinction. (3)

Ta Te [182]

Te 177 648 797

A partial answer to this very different reaction to Luso-Brazilian contact may be found in the nature of the acculturation process which each has experienced. Although the first decades of Tenetehara relations with Europeans were marked by slave raids, massacres, and epidemics, the protection of the Jesuits during more than one century (1653-1759) seems to have given the Tenetehara time to make adjustments in their culture and society to changing external circumstances. The missionaries were able to prevent the movement of colonists into Tenetehara territory; and after the expulsion

(2) Basic description of the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara have been published elsewhere: Cf. Wagley and Galvão, 1948 A, 1948 B, and 1949. Baldus, 1937, 1946-1948, 1948 B, 1949 SB, Ms. Only directly pertinent descriptive data is present in this paper.

Ta 161 [166]

(3) Cf. Wagley (1943) and Baldus (1945 vol. CIII, 1948 B, 1949 B), for discussion of Tapirapé depopulation and disorganization. Baldus (1948 B) pp. 137-138, who found the village called Tampitiâua inhabited by 150 individuals in 1935, and only 62 in 1947, mentions that during this lapse of time several inhabitants had emigrated to another Tapirapé village very far from Tampitiâua, but that their number seems to be lower than the number of those who came from there to Tampitiâua. According to information received by this author, the other village is smaller than Tampitiâua, so that in 1947 the whole tribe probably counted less than a hundred members. In the same year, shortly after Baldus' visit, the Tapirapé were attacked by Kayapó Indians and lost several individuals.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

THE TAPIRAPÉ

By Charles Wagley and Eduardo Galvão

INTRODUCTION

Isolated from other *Tupí-Guaraní*-speaking people, the *Tapirapé* live in Central Brazil, west of the Araguaya River and north of the Tapirapé River, a western tributary flowing into the Araguaya near the northern tip of the Island of Bananal (lat. 2° S., long. 52° W.). According to tradition, the *Tapirapé* lived for a time on the banks of the Araguaya and Javahé Rivers with the *Carajá*. They quarreled, and the *Tapirapé* moved west to their present territory (map 1, *No. 1;* see Volume 1, map 7). At the beginning of last century, five *Tapirapé* villages formed a line stretching northward into *Cayapó* country beginning at a point a few miles back from the Tapirapé River about 150 miles from its mouth. The *Tapirapé* have always been at war with the *Cayapó*, except for a brief period. Each of these villages contained at least 200 individuals with a total *Tapirapé* population of about 1,000. Since 1900, however, there has been a terrific reduction of *Tapirapé* population.

In 1939, there was only one remaining *Tapirapé* village situated about 20 miles north of the Tapirapé River with a total population of 147 people. This decline in population is basically due to disease (smallpox, respiratorial diseases, etc.) acquired either directly from Neo-Brazilians or from the *Carajá*, who are continually in contact with Neo-Brazilians. *Tapirapé* groups have been also massacred on several occasions by both the *Carajá* and *Cayapó*.

The *Tapirapé* have had but few contacts, however, with Neo-Brazilians. Except for the demoralizing effect of depopulation, their culture has been little modified. Although stories are told of Neo-Brazilian hunters visiting the *Tapirapé* in 1909, the first registered contact with them was in 1912. During that year, Señor Mandaburú, leading an expedition of the Brazilian Indian Protection Service, visited the village nearest the Tapirapé River. In 1914, the Dominican priests visited the *Tapirapé*. From that date on, the Dominicans returned each year or so to a camp on the Tapirapé River for 3 or 4 days at a time and were met by the *Tapirapé*, to whom they distributed trade goods. About 1934, a Protestant missionary, Frederick Kliegel, made several trips, staying 2 or 3 months in a *Tapirapé* village. In 1935, the first trained ethnologist, Dr. Herbert Baldus, resided several months with the *Tapirapé*, and in 1939–40, Wagley spent 12 months with them making the study on which this article is based.

115 Champuki was not the first person who came to mind when a contribution to this volume was considered. I thought of Gregorio Martin, a dignified and wise old Mayan Indian of Santiago Chimaltenango in Guatemala, who in 1937 had taught me the way of life of his people. I thought of Camirang, the dynamic young chieftain whom I had known in 1941 in a village of Tenetehara Indians along the Pindaré River in northeastern Brazil. I thought also of Nhunduca, a gifted and witty storyteller from a small Amazon community, who in 1948 introduced me to the rich folklore of the Amazon *caboclo* or peasant. But then, among all the people I had known in the various primitive and peasant cultures in which I [954] have done ethnological research, I chose Champukwi, a man of no outstanding talent, yet talented all the same—a man of not the [123] highest prestige in his society, yet admired by all. For the brief span of about a year he was my most intimate friend.

115 I knew Champukwi some 20 years ago when I lived in his small 123 village of about 175 Tapirapé Indians in central Brazil. I must have [162] seen him at once, for presents were distributed to the whole popu- [621] lation on the day of my arrival in late April of 1939. But I did not [31] distinguish Champukwi as an individual, nor did he, at first, stand out in any way from the other men of his village. His name does not appear in the notes taken during my first month among the Tapirapé.

114 For me, and even more for Valentim Gomes, the Brazilian fron- [103] tiersman who was my companion and employee, the first weeks in the Village of the Tapirs, as the small settlement was known, were a period of grappling with a strange and often confusing world.. 177 The Tapirapé Indians lived between the Araguaia and Xingú Rivers, [131] an area at that time almost entirely isolated from modern Brazil. They had been visited by only a few people from the "outside"—by one or two missionaries; by Herbert Baldus, a German-Brazilian anthropologist; and by a few frontiersmen from the Araguaia River. The nearest Brazilian settlement to the Village of the Tapirs was Furo de Pedra, a town of 400–500 persons that lay some 300 miles